ghettos of Eastern Europe, and in 1932 we thought that our first task was to change that type of man into a sound earner. But the German experience of 1933 has taught us that a Jew occupying a foremost place in his profession may, overnight, be turned into a *Luftmensch,* by being forbidden to exercise it in the land of his birth, and not allowed to take it up in any other country. Greater than the tragedy of individual Jewish unemployables in Eastern Europe is the *Luftmensch* tragedy of us all, due to the fact that as a nation we have no firm ground under our feet; man cannot live outside a community, but he is truly safe in his own community only—it has to be his own, in the fullest, completest sense. In fact, even the unsound economic character of individual Jews in the past merely reflected the condition of the nation. It was its anomalous position which had made so many of us into traders or into "intellectuals" (another kind of *Luftmenschen),* and had kept us out of the more solid, enduring occupations; while those who entered such occupations, especially those who settled as peasants among peasants, or as squires among squires, soon struck root and mingled with the growth of the soil. They ceased to be Jews, and found an individual solution of the problem. But now at last the problem has to be solved, one way or another, for our people as a whole.

Among European nations, during the best part of the nineteenth century, the upper and middle classes alone were articulate; they moved and worked free from obsolete shackles and as yet not drawn ,down by the weight of the masses. Fundamentally they thought of themselves as "the nation", even if this limitation was unconscious; and it was primarily on that comparatively narrow basis that individualism developed. The existence of the mute crowd in the background was politely acknowledged, and then passed over; or it was contended that their problems could be solved in the same terms as those of the upper strata.